1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

342 Yao make square houses.[1] Panelled doors and glass windows, deck-chairs and palm
177 furniture are becoming more and more popular. The men wear long Moslem robes
[297] and the women are clothed in cotton. In the rural areas there are usually a few crafts-
326 men who still ply their trades as carpenters and blacksmiths, though the latter no longer smelt, but use scrap-iron.

Labour Migration

162 Statistics are not available for the Yao of Portuguese East Africa or Tanganyika
464 Territory. Yao constitute 34 per cent. of the total population of South Nyasa district, 15 per cent. of upper Shire, 11 per cent. of Blantyre and Zomba.[2] The proportion of labour migrants in these districts was in 1937 as follows:[3]

District	*Adult males fit to work*	*Percentage of emigrants*	*Number producing economic crops*	*Number of subsistence producers*	*Emigrants not heard of since 1930*
South Nyasa .	24,230	87·1	2,912 (12%)	12,005 (49%)	873
Upper Shire .	24,873	13·9	2,555 (10%)	16,629 (67%)	235
Blantyre . .	25,330	15·6	3,788 (15%)	10,165 (40%)	986
Zomba . .	26,879	12·4	7,720 (29%)	9,040 (33%)	553

[134] South Nyasa district, which is unfertile waterless bush with a long history of famine and food shortage, has the highest proportion of labour migrants. Upper Shire, though not fertile, is more prosperous, benefiting from the tobacco- and cotton-growing industries, and from the dried-fish trade.[4]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE[5]

Kinship and Local Grouping

611 Among the Yao succession is matrilineal and marriage mainly matrilocal. Accord-
[591] ing to some informants succession formerly passed down the line of brothers, as with the Bemba, but it now passes direct to the eldest sister's eldest son, or to descendants of other sisters in order of seniority.[6] Chiefly succession follows the same rule, but the most senior may be set aside for a more suitable candidate.[7]

611 Clan names, *lukaryo*, are inherited matrilineally, and formerly designated exogamous
614 units,[8] but the marriage prohibition has now ceased to operate. Holders of the same clan name are unable to trace descent from a common ancestress, and for commoners clan names seem to have quite lost their significance; they are, however, carefully remembered in the chiefly lines and in other lines of hereditary rank, such as village headmen.

614 Within the general kinship grouping of the clan, a smaller group is recognized,
613

[1] Werner, 1906, p. 144; Macdonald, 1882a, vol. i, pp. 20–2, describes a round hut.

[2] 1931 Census information is taken because the district boundaries were changed between 1931 and 1945, so that the information in the 1945 Census would not be susceptible of comparison with that given in the 1937 Survey of Male Adult Population in the *Bell Report*, Appendix A.

[3] *Bell Report*, 1938, Appendix A. [4] Smith, 1937.

[5] Information, unless otherwise stated, is from Mitchell, and relates to south Nyasaland Yao.

[6] Johnston, 1897, p. 471; Meredith Sanderson, 1900, p. 370. Cf. Macdonald, 1882a, vol. i, p. 187, who says that brothers inherit before sister's son.

[7] Ibid., p. 189. [8] Burrows, q. 1922, p. 236.

ibele (plur. *mabele*), a breast. This includes all who are supposed to be descended from a common ancestress. Often the direct line of descent from the founding ancestress is not known for more than three or four generations. The small groups which can definitely claim to be 'of one breast' constitute the distinct matrilineal groups which live together in separate hamlets within a village. Each is undifferentiated in relation to other matrilineal groups, but internally each is differentiated on the principle of sibling unity.

The main emphasis of the kinship system is on the bond between a man and his sisters. Their relationship is summed up in the word *mbumba* (translated by Mitchell as 'sorority group'). A man speaking of his *mbumba* refers to all the women he calls sister, their daughters, and their daughters' daughters. Strictly speaking, female kin in the ascending generations are excluded, as belonging to the *mbumba* of his mother's brother. The 'warden' of a sorority group, *aryene mbumba*, is the senior of the brothers and is responsible for the behaviour of the women in his charge; he appears for them in court and pays fines on their account. He plays an important part in the marriage negotiations. It is his duty to consult the diviner if his sister or her child falls ill, and to be chief mourner at the funeral of either of them, also providing medicine for the ritual purification at the end of the mourning period. Formerly these obligations were balanced by certain rights. He could sell some of them into slavery for his own personal reasons. This privilege is ended, but even to-day it is through his sorority group that a man achieves status and independence.

The principle of sibling unity is expressed in many other ways. A man and his sister reciprocally call each other *alumbuangu*. More usually, a woman calls her brother, older or younger than herself, *acimweni* (a term of respect usually applied to a chief), for any brother may be regarded as warden of her sorority group. A man has the same duties to his younger brothers as to his sisters, so they also call him *acimweni*, but he calls them *mpwanga* 'younger brother', as they can never be in the position of warden in relation to him. Maternal uncles are called *akwelume*, and a sister's son *cipwa*.

Within each matrilineal descent group, differentiation takes place between members according to whether they are siblings or not. A man's sorority group included ideally his own siblings and their female matrilineal descendants. His sister's daughters are also the sorority group of his sister's son, their brother, so that any woman can belong at any one moment to the sorority groups of her brother, her mother's brother, her mother's mother's brother, &c., but the effective one is that of her own brother, if adult. He is consulted first in small disputes, and at the marriage ceremony each party is represented by a brother as well as by a mother's brother. In the break-up of a hamlet (described below, p. 12), siblings tend to hold together more closely than cousins and to form groups of their own, so that each woman in the descent line is a potential point of cleavage. Tension between brothers as they compete for control of the sorority group is a source of friction within the sibling group which eventually leads to its disruption.

Since marriage is mainly matrilocal, and extra-village, the husband in his wife's village is seen as a stranger by all the members of her matrilineal descent group. There is a tendency for members of such descent groups to live together in a cluster of huts. The word 'hamlet' is used by Mitchell to indicate a cluster of huts, in which

every adult member is a matrilineal descendant of a single ancestress, or a spouse of one of these people. All husbands are called *alamu* by the male members of the descent group, but husbands call each other by the kinship terms for older and younger brother (i.e. *acimwene* or *mpwanga*) according to the seniority of their wives. Similarly undifferentiated in kinship terms are the wives of all men of the descent group, who call each other 'sister'.

The husband is expected to work in his wife's garden, to help his mother-in-law, and also, in the early stages of marriage, to avoid her. His attitude to his father-in-law is one of respect, relaxing as time goes on. His attitude to his wife's brother is also one of respect, which covers feelings of latent hostility. Although husband and wife's brother co-operate in affairs relating to the woman and her children (e.g. they jointly consult the diviner in case of illness, and the brother-in-law hears grievances the husband may have against his wife), there are elements of conflict arising from their competition for the affection of the woman and her children.

Patrilocal marriages are the rule in certain cases. The village headman commonly has his wife in his own village. At his death his widow may return to her own village, but if her daughters have married locally she may stay, and one of her sons, as warden of his sisters, will also stay and marry patrilocally, as did his father, the headman. Thus a new matrilineal descent group, linked to that of the headman by a patrilineal link, develops. In every generation the number of separate but related matrilineal descent groups would double, and at such a rate of proliferation it might be expected that any village would contain many family groups. In fact, however, most members of a village can trace their descent from a common ancestress removed not more than about five generations. There are two reasons for this degree of homogeneity in the kin-grouping in the villages. One is that the villages tend to split up as they become too large and complex. The other is that the introduction of a new matrilineal descent group is often avoided by a cross-cousin marriage by the headman of the village or the warden of a sorority group.

There is a joking-relationship between cross-cousins, that is, for example, between the village headman's children and his sisters' children. The latter, as members of his descent group, have interests and loyalties opposed to those of his own children. Although there is a strong tradition of cross-cousin marriage, such marriages are said to be likely to be unstable.

Betrothal and Marriage

Child betrothal was common among the Yao. Acceptance of a loin-cloth and the wearing of it was token of betrothal, giving the groom exclusive rights over the girl.[1] The negotiations for an adult marriage are conducted by senior matrilineal kinsmen of the parties, who at the subsequent ceremony act as witnesses or sureties to the marriage. Usually the senior is the mother's brother, and the junior the brother. The act of validation, the *Cingonse* rite, takes place some time after the husband and wife have been living together. They meet in the hut of the woman for the rite, which consists in eating two pots of porridge, prepared by the female relatives of each party. The man's people bring a cockerel and the woman's a hen for relish. The exchange of food symbolizes the exchange of members of each matrilineal kin group, which is

[1] Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, p. 118; Johnston, 1897, pp. 411–13.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

riages between the chiefs and Newcomers and as a result there are 3·9 per cent of the Newcomer headmen who are linked affinally to the chiefs. The proportion of affinally-linked headmen in the two categories is approximately the same. The major differences are among the proportions of headmen linked by matrilineal and patrilateral ties to the chief.

Clanship with the Chief

A more numerous category is those who are related to the chief, not by common descent but by clanship.

Informants tell me that before the Whites came to Nyasaland, each person took the clan-name of his mother. People who had the same clan-name were said to be ' of one kind ' (*lukosyo lwamo*). The word *lukosyo* had no other meaning but ' kind ' or ' sort ', and the word *mtundu* is frequently used as a synonym. If a man is asked his *lukosyo*, he is as likely as not to give the reply ' Yao ' or ' Machinga ', i.e. his tribal origin. By extension it follows that if two people have the same clan-name inherited from their mothers, and their mothers in turn have inherited it from their mothers, and so on, eventually there must be a common ancestress. The two people therefore call each other ' brother '. However, among the Yao there are no stories of the origin of clans and only vague traditions of a common clan ancestress. I often questioned Yao about their clan-names and joked with them that though they were Invaders they shared the same clan-names as their subjects. The clan-names I found among the Machinga Yao were *apiri*, *amilasi*, *ambewe*, *abanda*, *asimbiri*, *amwale*, *angoma*, and these clan-names also appear among the Marawi group of tribes (Cewa, Manganja, Cipeta, Mbo, etc.), the Lakeside Tonga of Chinteche district, and the Mpotola and Lomwe or Nguru from Portuguese East Africa. The Achisi Yao under Katuli, a group related to the Mataka Yao from Portuguese East Africa, do not have these clan-names, nor, as far as I know do the Yao in Tanganyika. Clan-names, therefore, may be a feature of the Machinga Yao in Nyasaland, acquired as a result of their contact with the Marawi and other indigenous peoples of that country. It is significant that the clan-names are not as a rule common Yao words for everyday objects in the same way that clan-names amongst, say, the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia, are names of plants, animals and other natural phenomena. The word

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

622 643 614 *amilasi* is used for bamboos and once an informant when pressed told me a tale of a group of people who in dire starvation ate bamboo leaves and were thenceforth called after the bamboos. This story, however, was discredited by others and I pass it off as unimportant. There is, however, some evidence that the words *apiri amilasi*, *ambewe* and so on, are commonly used in Nyanja, and possibly amongst the Lakeside Tonga who were once part of the Marawi peoples, for objects other than clan-names.

614 582 Informants say that people with the same clan-name could not marry in the past,[1] so that the clan appears to have had the characteristics of an exogamous descent group. The position to-day is vastly different. Not only do people take the clan-names of their fathers, but many young people do not even know their clan-names at all.

614 611 567 At this point I should make it clear that the modern confusion about clan-names is no doubt partly due to the emphasis placed on patrilineal descent by the purveyors of White culture, the Administrators and the Missionaries, and also by the same emphasis in Islamic tradition which has influenced most Yao groups. Another factor in the situation is that slave descent still markedly affects social relationships in modern Nyasaland. Its significance here is that when a man took a slave-wife in the old days, his children by her took his clan-name, and not hers. Patrilineal descent of the clan-name therefore tends to point to the slave origin of a person. People who are able to point to a freeman ancestry are proud of this fact and are proud to be able to claim a clan-name associated with a long line of matrilineal ancestors, particularly if there were some well-known men among them. On the other hand, I found it a fairly safe indication that, if I could find no information about an ancestress, particularly her clan-name, then I was dealing with a group descended from a slave. A third factor is that some people 614 611 explained their lack of knowledge of a clan-name by the state of social unrest and confusion at the end of the last century. As a result of the incursions of the Ngoni, Nguru and slave-raiding Yao and Arab groups, and finally the punitive expeditions of the British and the Portuguese, villages were destroyed and groups annihilated. People lost contact with their relatives, even

[1] Confirmed by Hynde, R. S., 'Marriage and relationship among the Yao', *Nyasa News*, vii (1895), 217–18.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

their parents. Therefore many people who were children then, but adult to-day, say that their parents were 'lost running from the wars' and that they were never told their clan-names.

Whatever are the factors which have led to the comparative lack of importance of the clan-name in the social relationships of commoners to-day, the clan-name has preserved its significance in the political structure. I have already said that the clan-names associated with particular village headmanships and chieftaincies are well remembered, and this fact is not without significance. It seems likely that the clan-name was used in earlier times by groups as a method of claiming protection. The same set of clan-names appears throughout the tribes which surround the Machinga Yao. It seems likely that the adoption of clan-names facilitated their incursion into the country, and it is certain that insurgent Yao groups have used the clan-name as excuses to move into an area, and gradually to extend their dominance over it.

For example, in Malemia's area there is an Nyanja village headman called Nyani, who has the clan-name *amuule*. Stannus reports that when Malemia moved into this area he claimed brotherhood with Nyani because of the clan-name, and was able to obtain from him the land extending from the Likwenu River to the Namadsi River, a district 30 to 40 miles long.[1] Again when Kawinga fled from Chikala after the British raids on it, he went to the land of Nkanyela, an Mpotola chief in Portuguese East Africa, who is also an *ambeuve*. That the clan-name is used essentially in this political field is illustrated by the relationships of Mposa to Mbande. Mposa, the son of Kawinga I, settled in the country of the Nyanja chief Mbande, who had the same clan-name as Mposa, viz. *amilasi*. Mposa calls Mbande 'brother' to-day and Mbande holds a position of honour and rank in Mposa's chiefdom. It is significant that other village headmen such as Cilombo, Mbalika and Mkwinda also have the same clan-name, but they do not claim kinship to Mposa. In modern times, when there is no longer any great danger to be incurred in moving from one part of the country to another, it seems likely that the necessity for some mechanism, whereby the friendship of otherwise hostile groups could be secured, falls away. In other words, the significance of the clan-name is gradually disappearing as its functions atrophy.

[1] Stannus, 'The Wayao of Nyasaland', 237.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

614 Relationship may be claimed not only through having the
601 same clan-name, but also by patrilateral and affinal clan ties. For example, one of the early Kawingas is supposed to have married an *abanda* woman. Therefore Chikweo, whose clan-name is *abanda*, calls Kawinga 'brother-in-law' (*alamu*). Some of Kawinga's village headmen also call him brother-in-law because of the clan-name. Ngokwe, whose clan-name is *asimbiri*, had an *amilasi* father, so that many of his *amilasi* headmen call him 'son'.

614 Here, as before, there are more Invader headmen who claim
622 to be clan relatives of the chief (34·6 per cent) than Newcomer headmen (13·9 per cent) (see Tables VII and VIII). Once again
643 the proportion of headmen who claim affinal links to the chief is approximately the same in the two categories and the main difference is in the proportions who have the same clan-name and who are clan-patrilateral relatives in the way I have explained. I have mentioned that though many headmen have the same clan-names as the chiefs or the clan-names of the chiefs' fathers, they do not all claim to be clan-relatives of the chiefs. There is no reason to suppose that the distribution of clan-members is different between the Invaders and Newcomers, so that it seems likely that more Invaders claim the clan-relationship to the chief when they can, than do Newcomers.

Unrelated Headmen

622 The striking difference between the two main groups of head-
643 men is in the proportion not related to the chief. Among the Invaders only 35·1 per cent of the headmen cannot claim some kinship link to the chief. Among the Newcomers, however, roughly double that proportion (78·8 per cent) are in this position. Among the Invaders some of the unrelated headmen hold positions of importance by virtue of their independence of the chief. These are the *nduna* whose functions I describe later.[1] Among the Newcomers, however, there are no *nduna*, so that this difference between the categories is one of the most important.

In Tables VII and VIII I have omitted a total of 105 villages, 93 of which were small villages whose relationship to the chief I did not record. All these villages were settled in distant and inaccessible places and I asked about them from the chiefs and

[1] Chap. IV, pp. 92–3.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FR4

A man seeing a cloud coming up and wishing to prevent rain, ties a knot in the grass by the side of the path along which he is going. M 789 821

In January, 1907, there was a drought in Fort Johnston district, so the chief Mpondo and all his headmen visited a man called *Bimbi* (*bimbi* = prophet), a lesser chief, to ask for rain. They all adjourned to the forest, where *Bimbi* received them outside a hut, and having taken their presents, 50 yards of calico or less, he entered this hut and for a quarter of an hour went through certain incantations. He then appeared again and asked what was wanted. He was asked to give them rain. After again entering the hut and conferring with the spirits he announced rain for a certain day; this was received with clapping of hands, and then everyone lay down prone with the hands by the face and heads towards the hut. The spirits are said to be a male and female snake. God is said to speak to them, these to *Bimbi*, and *Bimbi* to the people. Rain did not fall on the day mentioned, but soon afterwards. [776]

Chisimbo: a man wishing to have medicine to make himself bullet-proof would be told to have coitus with his sister or mother. This is *chisimbo*, after which medicine is given to him. A man known to have done this near Mpondo's village was threatened with death by Mpondo, and therefore fled. M 789 835

Testicles of sheep, antelopes, etc., are eaten usually with medicine with the idea of gaining sexual power. M 831 825

A chief eats alone to avoid being given poison. M 244 522

A woman in child will not look at a picture or image lest the child be born with some deformity. Fright is said to cause monstrous births. M 843 [845]

A woman, when she conceives for the first time, that is, when a newly married girl is pronounced to be *enceinte* by her mother, attends a dance, and her head is shaved in front as far back as the ears. She may not talk to any man except her husband for a month. In older times this restriction extended till the time she was confined. [M 502]

A man used never to speak to his mother-in-law till after the birth of his first son. Neither a man nor his wife will eat in company of their mother or father-in-law until after birth of a child. If a man sees his mother-in-law eat he has insulted her and is expected to pay damages. If a man meets his mother-in-law coming along the road and does not recognise her, she will fall down on the ground as a sign, when he will run away. In the same way a father-in-law will signal to his daughter-in-law; the whole idea being that they are unworthy to be noticed till they have proved that they can beget children. M 606 [889]

CLANS.

M V 614

All Mahenje, Yao, Makonde, and Chikunda tribes are divided into clans, each with a separate name. Children take the clan-name of the mother, and members of the same clan are regarded as brothers and sisters; they are blood relations and may not intermarry.

4: Stanzus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Marav: FR4

M 614 [579] Men of the same clan must help each other. Two men of different clans fighting will be joined each by men of his clan; such two men may be interfered with and stopped fighting by someone of the same clan, but not by others. A fight between men of different clans is a lasting thing, not so a quarrel in the clan.

Every clan has a (king) *Karonga* and a (prince) *Chilembwe*, who is his son. These grades are only found among the Nyanja people.

M [269] [554] The Karonga may break bones when eating—this is significant of his power to break anything; the Chilembwe may not do so, being without land. Neither may eat while walking. These two are always chiefs.

Clan names.—In Machila men's songs one hears a number of clan names repeated sometimes.

After sneezing people sometimes exclaim, "*Mwana wa . . .*; *Mdzukulu wa . . .*; *Kubale kwa . . .*" (giving name of clan).

A man hearing another say this asks him, "Where do you come from?" He tells him, giving him names of his father and mother, etc.; if he does not know them he gives names of generations before.

The following are a few clan names:—

Achitolo, small rat.
Awamvula, rain.
Atimbiri, puff-adder.
Achikalanda.
Achikalima.
Achingwimba, thunder.
Achimwande, cloud.
Awauli-ngwai, hartebeests.
Ambiri, pig.
Ang'ani, birds.
Achiamba, fish.
Achinamula.

MARRIAGE.

M 584 A man seeing a girl he would like to marry deputes his brother to go to the brother of the girl, who then calls the girl's maternal uncle, and he speaks to the mother on the subject. The mother consults the girl; if she refuses, nothing further is done. If she consents, the man calls his relations to come and be witness of his taking the girl as his wife; they meet in the *Dzumbe*. A house is assigned to the M 585 man in the village of the girl and there they go to live.

After six months the mother of the girl prepares beer. The uncles of the young couple, mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers are invited. The girl's maternal uncle then speaks, addressing himself to the maternal uncle of the husband, saying, "We have called you here to drink beer and to see the house of your brother that you may return when you like. Should anything arise between these two newly married ones in the nature of a dispute, let them come to their respective uncles about the matter."

Then five pots of beer are drunk in the village, two are reserved for the witnesses to drink in the evening, and one for the two fathers and the headman.

9:Lawson Y-5 (ca. 1960)1969 FT? Yao FT?
MARAVI FR4

[P. 190A]

M 592 in-law in place of sons; and it is unlikely that many, indeed any, of his brothers will be able as A has done to overcome matrilocal prejudice. Many relatives, however, live close by, having broken apart from an originally large homestead; less than a mile off live an elder sister of A's mother, (*mai wamkulu*), with a married daughter, and perhaps a mile in the other direction live his mother's mother's brother and his mother's brother, (both *anbuye*), with their families of married daughters and granddaughters, unmarried sons and grandsons—a homestead of seven or more huts. Moreover, about fifteen miles to the East, near the shore of Lake Chilwa, is the original settlement of the Saima clan, to which A belongs through his mother and where, but for the peace brought by the Europeans, he and all his scattered relatives would probably still, he says, be living. Thus, though the average homestead to-day numbers, say, ten to fifteen huts, another part of the original family unit, (*mbumba*), is often to be found in a second small homestead not far off, and large compact villages of up to forty or fifty huts are still not uncommon. One chief's village I know has twenty-six huts, another beside the Shiré has thirty. Both these are matrilocal homesteads inhabited (if my informants were truthful) only by relatives and affines.

M 361 592

Y M 602 The examples cited show how strong is the kinship tie even under modern disruptive influences, and suggest how all-powerful it once was. I have called it a key to Nyanja and Yao society, for I believe their culture derives from it at every point: marriage, homecraft, agriculture, education, religion, were all bound up with the *mbumba*. But my aim here is not to describe the tree, merely to try and unearth its roots; and so, with one suggestion as to how these roots are entwined, I must end.

● Y M ● 614 We find among the Nyanja and Yao vestiges of an exogamous matrilineal clan system which hint at a possible origin of cross-cousin marriage. Any Nyanja or Yao will tell you that he inherits from his mother membership of a certain clan,

9:Lawson Y-5 (ca. 1940)1949 FT7 Yao FT7
MARAVI FR4

[P. 190 B]

(*mtunda*, or among the Ngoni and the Nyanja influenced by them, *mfumbo*),—say the Mwales'. His father is of another clan—as likely as not the Milanzis'—for it is considered incest for two Mwales to marry. He will tell you that he addresses every Mwale he meets, even a stranger from a far village, as "brother, sister, father, mother", (*achimwene*, *chemwali*, *atate*, *amai*) according to age and sex, and feels obliged to offer them help and hospitality—although this feeling is in most parts dying out. The Milanzis of his own generation whom he meets he considers in the same way as his cousins, (*anamani*), and treats, or used to treat, with the same friendly familiarity as his real cross-cousins at his father's home village.

This extension of brotherhood to one's mother's, and cousinship to one's father's, whole clan, suggests that the Nyanja clans (into which possibly the Yao married) may have grown each out of an extended family group, (*mbumba*), living or travelling together. Cross-cousin marriage would follow naturally on friendship between two such nearby groups, for after a few generations of intermarriage the groups would become so connected that a man born into the one and marrying into the other would in actuality be marrying his cross-cousin. Moreover there is a tradition, at least among the Nyanja of Zomba District, which bears out the evidence of the relationship terms. Old people tell how the earliest leaders of their tribe entered the country, each surrounded by his *mbumba*, and settled first here then there; they explain how each group came to be named, and how lasting friendship arose between the Amwale under Chief Mpoto and the Amilanzi under Chief Saima, and similarly between the Apiri and the Ankhoma, the Ambewe and the Achanza. Whatever truth lies behind this tradition, it is certain that to-day, however scattered the clans may be and however generally the young men reject cross-cousin marriage, yet a Mwale still calls "cousin" every Milanzi he meets and treats their women as potential mates; and the same holds good between the Phiri and Nkhoma, Mbewe and Chanza clans.

11:Sanderson D-5 (ca. 1920) 1920 FT7 Yao FT7

knows that he is not legally justified in "entering into the name" is loath to do so, as he knows that he is not expected to make a successful chief. The defeat of Salima, the fifth Makanjila, by the British in 1893 was, and still is, ascribed to the fact that he belonged to the male line.

The term *chipwa* (*mwipwanyuwo*, "his *chipwa*") may be used for any child of a sister. A female title (common amongst the Yao) descends to the eldest daughter of the eldest son of the bearer of the title.

Marriage.—Relatives who are forbidden to marry are called *achidawuko*; they include all those given in the table except *asidwasi*, *achiwemkulu* ("grandchildren"), and the wife of the maternal uncle. An heir, on succeeding, may marry the wife or wives of his maternal uncle, but not if he has previously married one of his daughters.

It is legal, though rare, for a man to marry the daughter of his own child (*chiwukulu*).

"Brothers" and "Sisters."—The term *ulongo* is used to describe an exogamous clan, and the members are known as *ulongo* (singular)—*achalongo* or *da chilongo*, collectively. This word *ulongo* is probably a corruption of *wa ulongo* ("in the clan") as it requires the use of the term *mjakwe* (*ajao*) "a companion," instead of the possessive pronoun. Thus *ulongo mjakwe* (*achilongo ajao*), "his (their) clan relatives" (instead of *ulongo jwakwe*, *achalongo wao*).

There is no general term corresponding to the English "brother." The nearest is *ulumbu*, which describes the relationship between a "brother" and a "sister," it is rarely used by women, however.

The elder "brother" of a man is called *akulu* or *achinyewe*. These terms are used for all sons of a father's elder "brother" or of a mother's elder "sister," and for the elder brother by the same parents. They are also used by a woman for any "brothers," elder or younger, senior or junior, in preference to the term *ulumbu*.

Mpwanga is used for a son of a father's younger "brother" or of a mother's younger "sister," and for a younger brother by the same parents. It is used by a woman for her "sisters" in exactly the same way, but is never used by a woman of a man.

A man calls his "sister" *chemwali*, collectively, *mwanjawo chemwali*; a girl refers to an elder, or senior "sister," by means of the same term; a man refers to a "sister" as *ulumbwanga* or as *chemwali*.

The term *chiwukulu* is used for a "grandchild" (*mwiwukuluwanga*, "my 'grandchild'").

"Father" and "Mother."—A paternal aunt is distinguished as *atati wakongwe* ("female father") if necessary, though she is, of course, not addressed as such. The elder brother of a father is referred to as *atati wakulungwa* ("the great father"). his younger brother as *atati wanandi* ("the little father"). Other *achatati* are similarly distinguished.